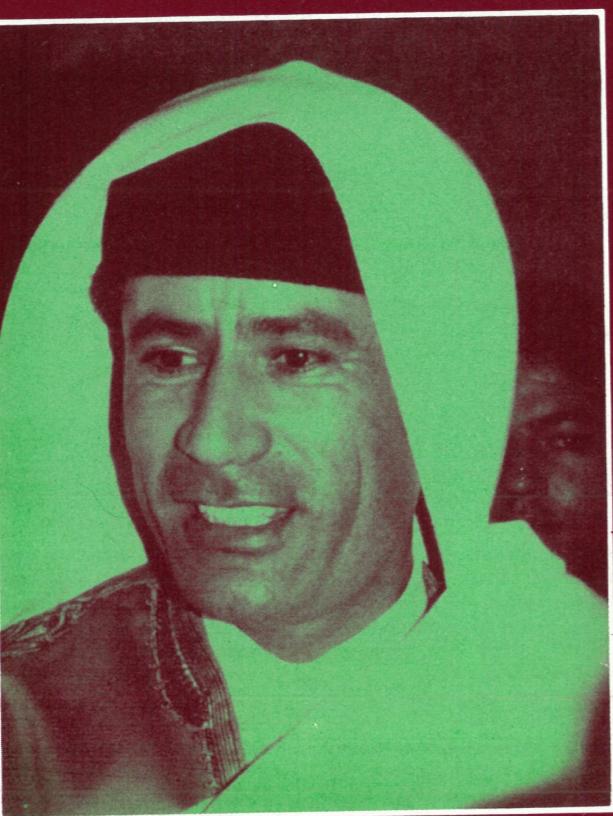


# THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

**PART 1**

The solution of the problem of Democracy

**PART 2**

The solution of the Economic Problem

**PART 3**

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammar al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

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# jamahiriya review

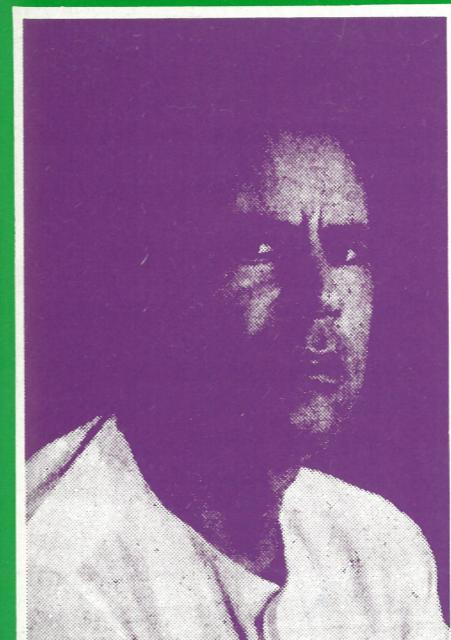
July 1981

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**SPECIAL REPORT**

**American  
foreign policy  
and the  
Third World**



**ALSO IN THIS ISSUE**  
**Qadhafi's  
initiative  
to unite  
Arab ranks**

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Issue No 14

July 1981

IN THE wake of the Zionist air attack on Baghdad, the Libyan leader, Muammar Qadhafi, has launched a major initiative aimed at resolving Arab differences and uniting the ranks of the Arab nation. Details of the initiative are reported in Panorama News Review on page 5, while Louis Eaks examines the background and goals of the Libyan leader's efforts to bring about a redefinition of Arab priorities and goals, in a commentary on page 9.

THIS MONTH'S special report reviews American foreign policy under the Reagan administration. On page 10, Louis Eaks looks at foreign policy priorities, and the threat which these pose to the non-aligned movement and the developing nations of the Third World. On page 11, a special correspondent examines Reagan's new stance towards human rights, and on page 12, David Butter in Beirut reports on the current US strategy in the Arab homeland and the support which Washington is giving to her client states in the region. One aspect of US policy in the Arab homeland is Washington's plan for the destabilisation of the Libyan Jamahiriya. Phil Kelly looks at this development on page 13, while on page 14 we report on Libya's efforts to bring about an international forum to discuss the 'terrorist' issue.

THE ATTEMPTED assassination of Pope John Paul II has been exploited by the media as a further opportunity to make accusations against Libya, and to attack the Islamic faith. Ali Azziz looks at recent news reports in the American press.

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## EDITORIAL

Terrorism, Occupation and Interference ..... 4

## PANORAMA NEWS REVIEW

Tripoli acts to unite Arab ranks ..... 5  
US hand in Zionist attacks ..... 5  
Security Council condemns Israel ..... 6  
Baghdad summit calls for sanctions ..... 6  
US cuts aid to Nicaragua ..... 7  
OAU peacekeeping force planned ..... 7  
Zionists murder 18 year old Arab youth ..... 7  
Palestinian universities closed down ..... 7  
Washington Post exposes Cairo's 'fat cats' ..... 7  
Sadat's opposition faces mass arrests ..... 8  
The Pope a symbol of peace ..... 8  
French Secret Service behind Libya plot ..... 8  
Mintoff refutes anti-Libyan claims ..... 8  
Support for Palestine is reply to US, says Qadhafi ..... 8

## COMMENTARY

The reasons for Qadhafi's initiative for Arab unity ..... 9

## SPECIAL REPORT

Third World becomes target for the US ..... 10  
Washington's betrayal of human rights ..... 11  
How justified are Arab fears of a US conspiracy ..... 12  
Blueprint for the US invasion of Libya ..... 13  
Libya acts on terrorist issue ..... 14

## MEDIA ANALYSIS

Islam and the near death of a Pope ..... 15

## INDUSTRIAL CITIES OF THE JAMAHIRIYA

Part 2: Ras Lanouf — Libya's petro-chemical capital ..... 16

## TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT NEWS

Major food industries get under way ..... 18  
Telecommunications links expand ..... 18  
New merchant marine college ..... 18  
Bright outlook for petro-chemicals ..... 19  
First graduation of medical students ..... 19  
Poland and Italy win construction contracts ..... 19  
Desert agriculture scheme presses ahead ..... 19  
Japan contract for vehicle maintenance ..... 19

## Terrorism, Occupation and Interference

NOTHING UNDERLINES the hypocrisy of American foreign policy, and the opinions espoused by the western media in general, than their own declarations and words. While the Reagan administration makes pronouncements to emphasise that it is determined to confront the evils of terrorism, military occupation and interference in other countries, and so forth, Washington conveniently fails to impose its declared principles and moral stands on its surrogates and allies, or to act according to them itself.

The Zionist renegade raid on Baghdad provides only one example. Conducted with the military facilities made available to it by the United States, and the political and diplomatic protection from Washington which the delinquent settler state enjoys, it hardly seems necessary to ask who are the terrorists? Yet while two million Palestinians forced to live in refugee camps as exiles from their homeland are denied any recognition of their rights, namely the right to return to their homeland, and to exercise self-determination and sovereignty over their territory, the United States arms and protects the Zionist settler state. Indeed, its creation was the result of US and western collusion against the Arab nation. The Israeli attack on Baghdad has shown the futility of friendship with the current US administration in Washington for which some Arab rulers long. Was this Zionist violation of Saudi airspace and Iraqi territory possible without the collusion of US intelligence? The US supplied and manned AWACS which Saudi Arabia has on 'loan' from the US provided no protection whatever.

□ **Occupation:** The US has declared its opposition to what it terms the 'occupation' of territory, yet it is American arms which make possible the Zionist occupation of Arab lands. Moreover, while the Libyan Jamahiriya is subjected to regular attacks by the State Department and the media for its intervention in Chad, albeit at the request of the Chadian government to put down an uprising from rebel forces, no serious mention is made in the press, and none at all by the State Department, of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African regime, again supported by the United States.

□ **Interference:** Likewise, one thrust of US attacks on

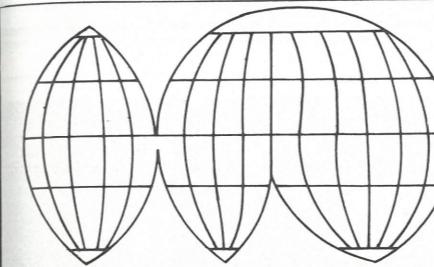
the Libyan Jamahiriya is the claim that the authorities in Tripoli pursue a policy of interference in the internal affairs of other states. While the evidence to support these claims is either spurious or non-existent, both Washington and the press have been markedly silent in their criticism of Egyptian and Sudanese plans to overthrow the authorities in both Libya and Chad. Meanwhile, it is widely recognised that the Phalangist and right-wing rebel forces in Lebanon receive covert military support from Israel and from the United States. Indeed, the hand of US covert operations spans the globe from Central America to southern Africa, and on to Asia and the Arab homeland. Despite the bloodshed and oppression which is the result, it is simply justified as a 'civilising mission'.

□ **Terrorism:** The central allegation being made against the Libyan Jamahiriya to justify Washington's tub-thumping concerns the issue of 'international terrorism'. No doubt the reason why Libya's proposal for an international conference on this subject has been greeted with silence in Washington is the United States' fear that its own activities, and those of its surrogates, might be examined under the glare of international publicity.

The Jamahiriya has already made clear its position regarding such organisations as ETA, the Reds Brigade and the Provisional IRA. It rejects their methods, and with the exception of the latter it rejects their aims. Support for the Palestinian resistance movement, like that for liberation movements in southern Africa, and formerly for African forces in Zimbabwe, is another matter. These struggles are legitimate. Who says so? Not just the Libyans, but resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, whose reasoned position is based on international conventions and laws.

Meanwhile, the United States remains the prime benefactor of regimes whose existence depends wholly on a policy of 'state terrorism', with examples from El Salvador to occupied Palestine, and from South Africa to Chile.

With allies like Pinochet, Beigin, Zia, and corrupt Arab leaders like Sadat, US foreign policy stands exposed. It is an affront to human dignity, and a threat to world peace and security.



### Tripoli acts to unite Arab ranks

A CALL for an end to Arab disputes and for the Arab nation to unite against its common Zionist enemy has come from the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi. At the centre of the Libyan initiative is PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, who has accepted Qadhafi's invitation to act as mediator, and open talks towards this goal with Arab leaders in Morocco, Riyadh and Bagdad.

Qadhafi has seized the opportunity to reunite the Arab nation in the wake of the 7th June Zionist air attack on Baghdad. Shortly after news of the Israeli raid, Qadhafi held top level talks with PLO leader Arafat, at which it was agreed that a major initiative should be launched to bring about a rapprochement between Arab regimes. The PLO Chairman immediately left on a tour of North African states which took him to Algiers and Rabat, where he held talks with President Chadli Ben Jедid and King Hassan II. He returned to Tripoli on 15th June, and announced that Morocco and Algeria has responded positively to Qadhafi's proposals for ending the Saharan war. Also in Tripoli was the Prime Minister of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, Mohammed al-Amin, who announced that Polisario would welcome peace talks with the

Moroccan government. The key to the peace plan is Qadhafi's call for a referendum in the disputed territory.

Qadhafi told a press conference the same day in the Libyan capital that the Jamahiriya is confident that normal relations will soon be restored with Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Morocco. He announced that Yasser Arafat would start immediately on a tour which would include Baghdad, Riyadh and Rabat.

The Libyan leader said that Israeli aggression struck at the very existence of the Arab nation. 'It is clear that Israel sets no bounds to her security. Israel has thus become a total threat to the Arabs for its works on the principle: "It's either Israel or the Arabs". From now on the objective should be the elimination of Israel,' he said. 'We are ready to resume relations with Morocco, Riyadh and Bagdad. We have also decided not to incite any Arab differences until Israel is eliminated.'

Qadhafi has set himself a formidable task. In addition to the Saharan dispute between Polisario and Morocco, the Libyan initiative will seek to restore good relations between Syria and Iraq, to heal the rift between Saudi Arabia and the Jamahiriya, and to seek a termination of the hostilities between Iraq and Iran.

An early signal that the Arab leaders will respond positively to Qadhafi's initiative came on 19th

June, less than a week after the start of the diplomatic campaign. Libya and Morocco announced that normal diplomatic relations were to be restored.

In Nairobi, at the OAU summit, Mr Abdul-Ati Obeidi, the Secretary of the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau, was able to announce that Libya and Morocco would work for an end to the Saharan war. 'Polisario is a liberation movement recognised by many African states,' he said. 'We believe that Polisario is now in a military position which makes it possible to negotiate its destiny. The biggest help we can give is to try and help solve the problem peacefully.'

Mr Obeidi also announced in Nairobi that Muammar Qadhafi will embark on a tour of African states following the OAU summit, in a bid to unify African states both on the Palestine liberation issue, and the pressing need for a united stand by the Africans, of which Libya and the North African Arab states consider themselves an integral part, to confront the issue of Namibia's liberation struggle, and the African struggle in South Africa.

[A commentary on Qadhafi's initiative appears on page 9.]

### US hand in Zionist attacks

THE ZIONIST air attack on the Iraqi nuclear research station near Bagdad on 7th June was the

latest in a series of military assaults on neighbouring Arab countries launched by Zionist Premier Menachem Beigin as part of his election campaign, with the full support of the US and Egypt.

The attack on the Iraqi reactor was the culmination of a series of aggressions which started with raids on Syrian forces and Palestinian camps in Lebanon after US Secretary of State Alexander Haig gave the Israelis the green light on 6th April, telling them that they had a right to keep their borders free of 'terrorists'. When the Israelis threatened to destroy Syrian defensive anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon, the US despatched a peace mission in the shape of Philip Habib. His role, according to many with whom he talked, was not to produce a solution, but merely to aid deeper US involvement in the affairs of Lebanon and the region as a whole.

Sources in Damascus say that Habib baffled Syrian President Hafez Assad by simply presenting him with the Israelis' demands that he dismantle Syrian defences. The American made no effort to mediate whatsoever.

The day after Habib departed for Washington, the Israelis renewed their attacks on Lebanon. On 29th May, these raids cost the lives of four Libyan volunteers serving with the Palestinian resistance at Damour, just south of Beirut. Paying tribute to the sacrifice of the Libyans, PLO

Chairman Yasser Arafat said that Libyan volunteers had been aiding the Palestinians since 1971, and refuted Zionist suggestions that large numbers of Libyan regulars had recently arrived in Lebanon.

As the Zionists continued to attack Syrians, Palestinians and Lebanese alike, Egyptian ruler Anwar Sadat made it clear that they could do what they wished without jeopardising the friendship between the two regimes. He arranged to meet Begin at Sharm el Sheik, part of Egyptian territory still occupied by the Zionists. At this meeting, two days before the raid on Iraq, it is generally believed that Begin sought and received assurances from Sadat that an attack on Iraq would have no more effect on the Cairo-Tel Aviv axis than the attacks on Lebanon.

There was a momentary division of opinion in Washington about how the administration should react to the Zionist attack on Iraq. Some US officials, like Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, are worried that Israel may go so far that the credibility of America's friends among the Arab regimes might be damaged. They clashed with the Zionist hawks, led by Reagan's National Security Advisor, Richard V Allen. The hawks applauded the Israeli attack; they feel that the action should serve as an example of how the United States should treat other Third World countries.

With the aid of the Zionist lobby, the hawks prevailed. The Zionist ambassador in Washington was assured that the attack on Iraq would have 'no effect whatsoever' on US backing for Israel.

The Ambassadors of three pro-western Arab governments, from Morocco, Sudan and Jordan, were allowed to have a brief conversation with Mr Reagan. They received nothing but a glimpse of the President's actor's smile, and failed completely to get the US to take any steps against the Zionists. They were also told that if the Arab and Third World states at the United Nations proposed that sanctions should be applied against Israel, then the United States would veto the move, and would impose diplomatic and economic sanctions of its own against those supporting it.

## Security Council condemns Israel

THE UN Security Council on 19th June voted unanimously for a resolution which strongly condemns the Israeli attack on Iraq. Despite US support for the resolution, it was described by the Israeli delegate as 'yet another biased anti-Israeli resolution', which he said, 'Israel firmly rejects'.



US Ambassador Kirkpatrick votes to condemn the Zionist raid on Baghdad, but later said it was 'the lesser of two evils' when faced with Arab calls for sanctions.

## Baghdad summit calls for sanctions

ARAB LEADERS have responded to the 7th June attack by Israel on Iraq's nuclear reactor by calling for embargoes to be imposed against the Zionists. Moreover, the incident has clearly underlined to all Arab leaders that their security is not respected by the Zionist state, and that the raid on Baghdad was only possible as a result of the continued military support and aid given to the Zionists by the United States.

The resolution said the Security Council 'strongly condemns the military attack by Israel in clear violation of the charter of the United Nations and norms of international conduct; calls upon Israel to refrain in future from any such acts or threats thereof; further considers that the said attack constitutes a serious threat to the entire IAEA safeguards regime which is the foundation of the NPT (Non-proliferation Treaty).

'Fully recognises the inalienable sovereign right of Iraq, and all other states, to establish programmes of technological and nuclear development for peaceful purposes; calls upon Israel urgently to place its nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards; considers that Iraq is entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it has suffered.'

in securing mandatory sanctions against Israel in accordance with Chapter 7 of the UN Charter. It called on all states, 'headed by the United States' which extend economic, political, military and technological aid to Israel to 'adopt practical and tangible steps to end this aid'.

The Council said that the 'Israeli aggression and arrogant policy in the region aimed at expansion at the expense of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, could not have been possible had it not been for the support of some super powers, particularly the United States'.

Earlier, at a rally on 11th June, marking the anniversary of the expulsion of US forces from Libya, Muammer Qadhafi warned that the raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor should 'wake up the Arabs to the dangers facing them. It should show Iraq that her war with Iran is in the interests of the Americans and the Israelis, and then even this fact did not prevent the Israelis from striking at Iraq.'

The Libyan leader said that the Americans could only aid the Zionists to carry out their aggressive actions because the Arabs allowed them to do so. 'It is Arab funds that the Americans and the Israelis use to fight us. America stands to gain over three and a half billion dollars a year by the reduction in price of Saudi oil, and gives this money in turn to the Israelis in order to strike the Arabs. We, the Arabs, are giving America the money with which to fight us,' Qadhafi pointed out.

## US cuts aid to Nicaragua

A PERMANENT Libyan People's Bureau was opened in Managua, capital of Nicaragua, in May. The ceremony was attended by Tomas Borge, a leading member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front which defeated the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in 1979, who is now Nicaragua's Interior Minister, and by Eden Pastora, Commander of the Sandinista militia.

Nicaragua radio said that Libya was one of the countries which had established relations with Nicaragua after the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, and thanked the Jamahiriya for a loan of \$100 million, which, it said, had been made at a time when the country had been 'subject to economic aggression'.

The Reagan administration in Washington cut \$25 million from the US-promised \$75 million aid to Nicaragua, because the socialist government is refusing to take US direction on how to run the economy. Washington is also fabricating reports of Soviet arms being shipped through Nicaragua to the Democratic Popular Front of El Salvador.

## Zionists murder 18 year old Arab youth

### OAU peacekeeping force planned

THE OAU summit in Nairobi is expected to bring about the establishment of an OAU peace-keeping force to deal with African

disputes. It is a positive step towards creating a force which Libya has long demanded in its efforts to end the intervention of non-African forces in African affairs. Initial reports from the Kenyan capital say that Algeria and Nigeria will make substantial contributions to the £26 million force, which could replace the Libyan military presence in Chad.

Meanwhile, Libya is reported to have agreed to provide £500,000 in cash and arms, which will be matched by Kenya, to start a Namibian liberation fund.

The OAU summit was marked by strong rejection of the new African policy being pursued by the United States. The Reagan administration came under fierce criticism for its efforts to undermine the role of SWAPO in the struggle for Namibia independence, and over Washington's increasingly close ties with apartheid South Africa. African delegates saw a parallel between events in South Africa, and the increased US support for the Zionists in occupied Palestine.

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## Zionists murder 18 year old Arab youth

THE DUHEISHA Palestinian refugee camp outside the occupied West Bank town of Bethlehem was placed under curfew on 12th June by Zionist troops. The measure was taken after soldiers had shot dead an 18 years old Palestinian youth who had been throwing stones at an Israeli

military patrol. A Zionist spokesman said the curfew had been imposed to allow the occupation forces to find a second youth who had also been throwing stones.

Duheisha has been placed under curfew repeatedly over the last two years, usually as a reprisal for stone-throwing children. The last time the camp was subjected to this measure, Zionist troops shot the main water tank full of holes. The latest incident comes after weeks of unrest in the West Bank, marked by strikes and demonstrations by Palestinians in protest against the Zionist occupation.

## Palestinian universities closed down

THE ZIONIST occupation authorities in mid-June closed down Bir Zeit University in the occupied West Bank only hours after re-opening the Najah University in Nablus which had been shut down for two weeks. In neither case was any official order issued, nor was any reason given for the closure.

West Bank Palestinian students and teaching staff see the constant harassment of schools and universities by the Zionist military authorities as part of a wider campaign to break down Palestinian resistance to the Zionists attempt to control the educational system in the 1967 occupied territories.

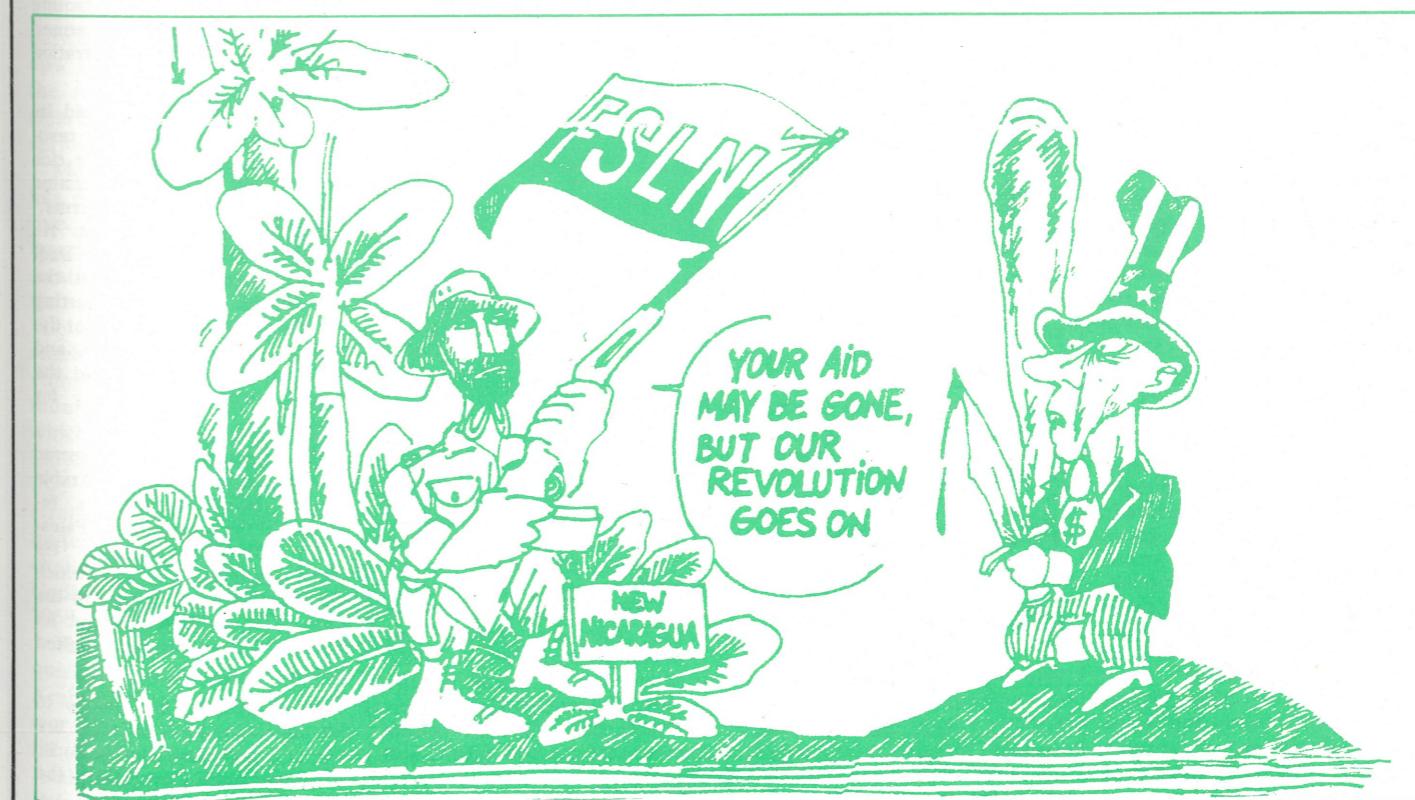
The campaign to stifle Palestinian education, while working for

domination over academic institutions in these areas, is being carried out with similar tactics to those used in seizing Palestinian land and silencing Palestinian political expression.

## Washington Post exposes Cairo's 'fat cats'

EVERYONE IS benefitting from US aid to the Sadat regime, except, that is, the Egyptian people who most desperately need assistance and an economic programme which will boost their living standards and welfare. A series of three articles recently appeared in the *Washington Post*, in which columnist Jack Anderson noted that the US AID (Agency for International Development) programmes in Egypt 'seem to be doing little more than making the rich Egyptians richer'. He told his readers, 'The AID programme is floundering in a morass of waste, corruption and bureaucratic incompetence. Many of the low-interest loans produced no new jobs, as most have gone to millionaires.'

At the same time, American corporations are also taking their slice of the cake, according to Anderson. AID terms are that orders must be placed with US companies, who in turn up their prices knowing that competition from European companies is restricted. The result is that limited AID funds are exploited to make nice profits for American businessmen. Again, the Egyptian worker remains the loser.



## Sadat's opposition faces mass arrests

THE EGYPTIAN security services have completed preliminary interrogations of 76 prominent opposition figures, according to reports from Cairo. Arrested over the last two months, the detainees have been held on the basis of belonging to a secret organisation, namely the Communist Party, which aims to strike at the state's institutions with violence and other illegal means.

Forty-one of those arrested are to be kept in detention for a further 45 days, according to a report from Cairo published in the Lebanese newspaper *As-Safir* on 15th June, which says that the Sadat regime is anxious to wipe out a new broad-based 'National Democratic Front' (NDF).

Most of those detained in the original sweep are involved in the trade unions and well-known campaigners in the Egyptian left. Forty-six are members of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping (NPUG) of Khaled Muhiedine, one of the main opposition parties to Sadat's ruling National Democratic Party. Twenty-two NPUG members are still in jail.

The three main targets of the regime's campaign are the outlawed Communist Party, the NPUG and the emergent NDF, which aimed to provide a framework for unifying all the opposition forces.

The recent trial of 30 suspected Communists arrested at the end of 1979 was reported to have been a farce, with security officers barely able to produce a shred of evidence. They offered no weapons, nor evidence of military training to support their charge that the suspects were aiming to subvert the state by force.

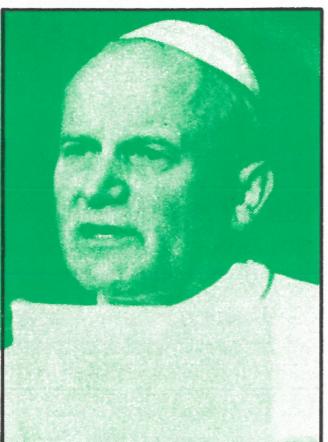
Sadat is under pressure from the United States to stifle his political opponents, and Washington is clearly alarmed by the scale of dissent and opposition to the regime's policies both in respect of the surrender to the Zionist regime in Palestine, and to Sadat's corrupt capitalist economic strategy.

The Americans were not amused when the Communist Party held its first general congress inside Egypt, apparently without the security forces knowing anything about it. The American Ambassador, Alfred Atherton, is reported to have politely asked Sadat how the security services could have failed to notice an event of this significance.

The fear of the US and Sadat stems from the active part which the CP is playing in promoting the NDF, which could co-ordinate the activities of all forces opposed

to Sadat's economic policies, the Camp David process and the American bases in Egypt. The Sadat regime is attempting to crush the NDF by using the same tactics used against the NPUG, in seeking to portray it as a Communist front. Until now the NPUG has borne the brunt of Sadat's assault on all opposition to his policies.

## The Pope a symbol of peace



A LEADING Libyan information official, Mr Ibrahim el Bishari, told a Rome press conference in late May that Libya condemned the recent attempt on the life of Pope John Paul. 'We consider the Pope to be a great symbol of peace,' he said, pointing out that the Jamahiriya had been the first Islamic country to open up the Islamic-Christian dialogue.

Referring to the current US stance towards the Jamahiriya, Mr el Bishari said Libya was contemplating a response to the expulsion of staff and officials from the Libyan People's Bureau in Washington. Libya is a 'small non-aligned country which doesn't want to be anyone's slave,' he added.

Asked about reports linking Reagan to plans to overthrow Muammer Qadhafi, Bishari had a warning for the United States. 'The United States may be stronger than we are, but they cannot stop us from being free. If they attack us, Libya will become another Vietnam,' he said. 'Libya has lots of friends, including some just as strong as the United States.'

## French Secret Service behind Libya plot

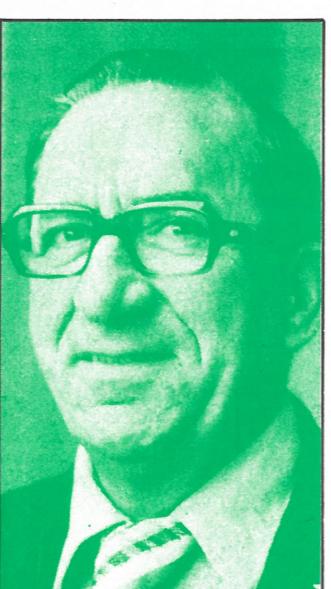
THE FORMER deputy chief of the French Secret Service, SDECE, Colonel Alain de Gaigueron de Marolles, who resigned last year, was behind an unsuccessful plot to foment dis-

turbances in Libya, according to a report by Jon Swain in *The Sunday Times* on 31st May. Marolles was deputy to SDECE head Alexandre de Marcenches, who himself quit in the wake of the election of François Mitterrand to the French Presidency. He had hoped to set up a Libyan 'government in exile' and hoped to 'topple Colonel Qadhafi' by organising an uprising in Benghazi which 'flopped', according to Swain.

SDECE is France's equivalent of the US CIA and Britain's MI6, and like them, it is used to carry out covert activities abroad against those whom the French government dislikes. But there is growing concern in France that SDECE may also have extended its activities inside France itself, and that Marcenches, a close friend of former CIA Director and current US Vice President George Bush, may have been closer to the Americans than to former President Giscard.

No 'disturbances' were reported from Benghazi last year. In August, Major Abdul Salem Jalloud told a press conference that Egyptian reports of disorder in Tobruk were untrue, but said that an Italian working in Libya had been arrested after admitting contact with Egyptian secret service personnel in Rome.

## Mintoff refutes anti-Libyan claims



MALTESE PREMIER Dom Mintoff has expressed his sympathy for the Libyan position in Chad, and his hopes that relations between the two countries, soured in recent months by their dispute over rights to the Mediterranean sea bed which lies between the two states, will soon improve.

In an interview with the Italian

paper *La Repubblica*, Premier Mintoff said: 'I don't accept that Qadhafi has expansionist ambitions, or that he follows Soviet instructions. The Chad affair is so complicated that any appraisal seems extremely difficult. As to Qadhafi, if there's an Arab who does not submit to the Soviets, it's him. He is a decent and very able person, endowed with great natural intelligence.'

Mr Mintoff added that the only issue dividing the two countries was that of the territorial waters, which rests on the position of the continental shelf. Both countries have agreed to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice at the Hague, and once the issue is resolved, an improvement in Maltese-Libyan relations is generally expected.

## Support for Palestine is reply to US, says Qadhafi

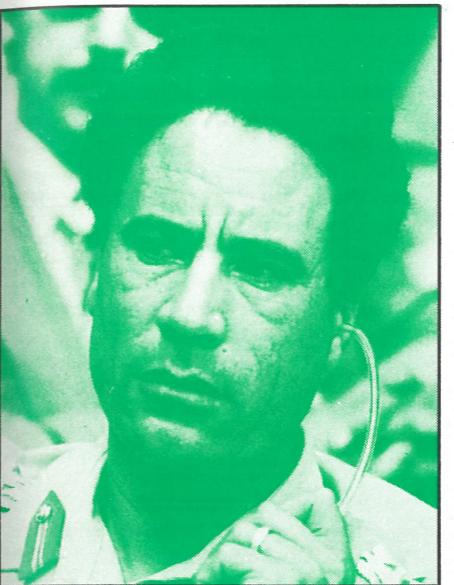
'OUR REPLY to America today is our meeting here with the leadership of the Palestine Resistance,' Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi told a rally in Tripoli to mark Palestine Day on 15th May. Colonel Qadhafi said that when the Libyan Bureau in Washington had been expelled, because the US claimed that Libya supported international terrorism, what they had really meant was 'Libya's absolute support for Palestinian armed struggle and for the liberation of Palestine.'

The Arab nation had 'sold its clothes to arm the Algerian revolution . . . but now we are rich and we can equip the Palestine revolution with the best of arms,' the Libyan leader declared. He strongly criticised the Iraqi attack on Iran, saying that the war in the Gulf was diverting funds which ought to be put at the disposal of the Palestinians, and not used for 'a war against the Iranian revolution by proxy for America.'

The Libyan leader also directed his criticism towards Saudi Arabia for its failure to put its resources at the service of the Palestinian liberation struggle. He charged that Saudi Arabia, which produces six times the oil of the Jamahiriya, preferred to put its funds at the service of the United States.

He challenged the Saudis to 'liberate Jerusalem if they are able to'. 'Let Saudi Arabia do it; it has the guns, the planes, the tanks, the money,' he insisted.

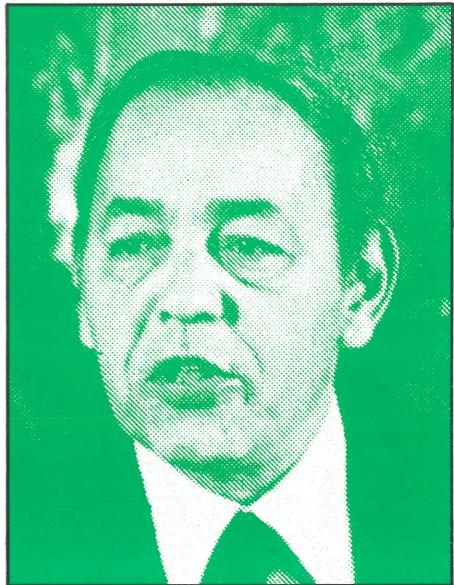
## The reasons for Qadhafi's initiative for Arab unity



Muammer Qadhafi



Yasser Arafat



King Hassan II

**MUAMMER QADHAFI** has launched a major initiative to resolve Arab differences and unite the ranks of the Arab nation. *Louis Eaks* examines background and goals of the Libyan leader's efforts to bring about a redefinition of Arab priorities and goals.

that it seeks to restore normal relations with Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Iraq which have been severed over political differences.

Moreover, the Zionist attack on Baghdad has placed the conflict in a new perspective. Despite Israel's justification of the attack, the raid points to a Zionist strategy which is now ready to challenge the right of the Arabs to technology. The ability with which the Israeli planes reached Baghdad has underscored the vulnerability of the multi-billion dollar industries and high technology projects which are now being developed in the Libyan Jamahiriya and other Arab states. The Zionist attack on Baghdad has strengthened the not infrequent calls for a united Arab front to face the Zionist challenge which has been a hallmark of Qadhafi's Arab homeland policy since the 1969 Revolution.

The Jamahiriya's initiative seeks a quick end to the current disputes between Arab states, such as the Moroccan-Saharan war, the rift between Iraq and Syria, and the Iraq-Iran war which is diverting Iraqi Arab resources from the Arab struggle in Palestine. Moreover, Libya has declared

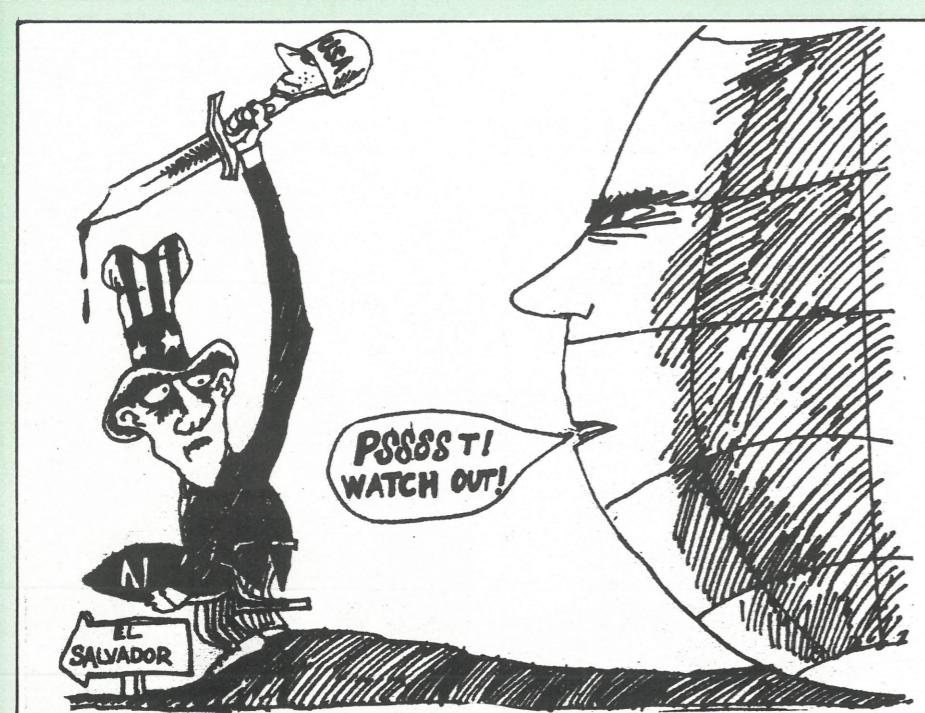
Syria, a confrontation state, and Iraq to recognise that they share a single enemy, and to set aside political differences of the past.

Similarly, Libya has opened the way to a rapprochement with Morocco, which broke diplomatic relations with the Jamahiriya over Tripoli's backing for Polisario and the recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Qadhafi believes that Polisario can now negotiate with Morocco from a position of strength, and is satisfied that a referendum of the disputed territories will provide a just solution. Libya stresses that it remains committed to the right of the Saharan people to its self-determination.

Libya sees a clear distinction between Saudi permission for US AWACS on its territory, to which Libya remains opposed, and Sadat's surrender to the Zionists at Camp David. So long as Sadat remains wedded to the Zionists, Egypt cannot be a party to Arab unity. The new alliance between Khartoum and Cairo places Sudan and Numeiri firmly in the Zionist-US ranks. A united stand against Egypt and Sudan, with the imposition of sanctions, is likely to be high on the agenda of the next Arab summit.

The Jamahiriya will also seek stronger Arab backing for its opposition to all foreign military bases on Arab territory, and foreign fleets in Arab territorial waters.

In short, Qadhafi's long-standing position, the need to unify Arab ranks, to confront the Zionists and their American backers, to rid the Arab homeland of American military bases, and to end inter-Arab disputes, has been justified by Israel's attack on Baghdad. Tripoli believes that the way is now open for reconciliation and a redefinition of Arab priorities.



## Third World becomes target for the US

WHEN THE Americans and the Soviets moved towards the era of detente, a lone voice amongst the international community came from the Libyan Jamahiriya, warning that while detente between the two super powers must be encouraged, it would be meaningless, indeed a retrograde step, if the battles between East and West were in future to be fought out on neutral territories in the Third World.

The pertinence of this observation has become increasingly obvious with the arrival of the Reagan administration, and its declared tough stand against the Soviet Union and its down-grading of the detente process. In less than six months, the United States has activated a foreign policy programme based on 'standing-up' to the Soviets, which has put the confrontation lines not so much between East and West but in Central America, southern Africa and the Middle East.

Reagan's first declared stand concerned the liberation struggle now taking place in El Salvador. A massive propaganda campaign was launched through the western media and with the assistance of the US-owned international news agencies to discredit the anti-junta forces in El Salvador and to portray them as being nothing more than surrogate forces of the Soviet Union. The widespread and popular support for the opposition forces in El Salvador was at best ignored, but more generally it was actually denied by Washington. The US claimed that arms and even advisors had been supplied to the opposition movement by the USSR and Cuba, while all evidence available shows that most arms originate from non-communist countries, purchased through

**THE UNITED States' proclaimed stand against the Soviet Union is being manifested in increasing US support for regimes under pressure from liberation movements in the Third World. Louis Eaks examines the effects of the new Reagan administration's foreign policy priorities.**

arms dealers in the United States. Nevertheless, Washington's portrayal of the 'facts' has been used to justify heavy military aid to the junta in San Salvador, despite the latter's criminal record on human and civil rights.

Likewise, in the Arab homeland the implications of the new US priorities have been severely felt. The Zionist state in Palestine is seen by the Reagan-Haig team as central to western interests and a base from which to confront Arab nationalism, portrayed again as a manifestation of communism despite the incompatibility between communism and Islam.

The financial and military support which the Zionists have always enjoyed from the US has now been boosted with open agitation from the Zionists to escalate their military campaign in the Lebanon, and to confront the Syrian forces based there. Moreover, the US is now actively inciting its surrogate regimes in Egypt, Morocco and Sudan to confront the Libyan Jami-

hiriya, while the US seeks to boost its direct penetration through military bases in the Gulf region, in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Kenya.

The effects of US priorities are also being manifested in southern Africa, with Washington now actively attempting to legitimise the racist regime in South Africa, and the latter's hold over Namibia. The targets of the American moves are the African nationalist movements, ANC and SWAPO.

Hence, while Reagan and Haig pronounce their intentions of confronting the Soviet Union, the real effects of this policy are being felt most strongly in regions of the world not directly involved in the super power confrontation. And in its determination to take a stand, the victims of US foreign policy are now the oppressed and struggling peoples of the Third World, who in the vast majority of cases are in no way surrogates of the Soviet Union.

The goals of American foreign policy are not directly related to Soviet influence, but rather the containment of Third World nationalism which is the greater threat to American economic interests. The crude face of American capitalism is seen in its reality in the Third World, where the economic and social poverty is perpetuated by the existing economic order, manifested by the role of the US multinationals, whose ability to exploit and plunder the natural resources of the Third World have brought affluence and power for the US and prolonged poverty for the Third World. The US has now set its face against the trend towards establishing a new world economic order, through which equitable prices would be paid for raw materials from the developing nations, thus giving the latter a greater opportunity for development and improvement of the well-being of the Third World peoples.

The United States fears the rise of nationalist governments, which will press their demands, will conflict with US interests, as they are perceived in Washington. At the heart of the US drive into the Third World, unleashed by Secretary of State Haig, is the 'resources war' in which the US seeks to maintain firm control, through compliant and subservient Third World regimes, over natural resources. The US wholly refutes that whatever the political persuasion of a Third World government, export trade will remain vital to that country's economy. For example, despite fundamental ideological differences, oil producers like Libya and Algeria still export to the US, while the US exports grain and technology to the USSR.

Indeed, the lifting of the grain embargo on the Soviet Union by the Reagan administration, merely underlines the hypocrisy of Washington's current proclamations. Meanwhile, the targets of US foreign policy in the Third World face an increasingly difficult battle.

**THE REAGAN** Administration came to power on a platform of vocal and committed anti-communism, fuelled by a campaign by right-wing pressure groups to reverse the revulsion which the US people felt for overseas military adventures in the light of the US defeat by Vietnam.

Most of the regimes which the US supports around the world stay in power by the institutionalised repression of their own people, bolstered by US training and supplies for the military services and police forces.

Nevertheless, as far as the Carter administration was concerned, the issue of human rights was a good stick with which to beat the Soviet Union. While at the start of his term of office, Jimmy Carter was prepared to make mild criticisms of conditions in such US allies as Chile, Taiwan, or South Korea, by the end, the only people in the world who had their human rights denied, one would have thought, were Soviet Jews.

But it has taken the accession of President Reagan to produce an ideological underpinning for this distinction between human rights violations when practised by America's allies and America's perceived enemies. In April this year, Secretary of State Alexander Haig spoke to a meeting of the Trilateral Commission, the influential international grouping of business leaders, military officers, academics and diplomats, which serves as an unofficial support network for US foreign policies. Before this body, he chose to elaborate the new Administration's attitude to human rights.

According to Mr Haig, the United States should be more critical of human rights violations by 'totalitarian' regimes than by 'authoritarian' ones. This distinction is not an invention of the State Department or the less-than-imaginative mind of Mr Haig. It is one which has been circulating in extreme right-wing circles, in the US and Europe, for a decade or more, ever since the concept of 'human rights' became a serious part of liberal Democratic rhetoric. The noted right-wing propagandists Brian Crozier and Robert Moss, for example, both used the alleged distinction between 'authoritarian' and 'totalitarian' regimes in books published in the 1970s.

The difference, according to Mr Haig, is clear. Totalitarian regimes are supposed to be those which 'dominate all aspects of their citizens' lives, and resist change', whereas an authoritarian regime 'customarily reserves to itself only in a few politically sensitive areas'.

Any attempt to use these definitions on the real world rapidly falls asunder when one is faced with the myriad different regimes which control the states of this planet. The evident thrust behind the distinction is that 'authoritarian' regimes may repress their own people, and prevent them from forming opposition groups, or trade unions, or from expressing their opinion in print or in public; but, crucially, they do not seek to plan their national



Terrorism of the state, and denial of human rights in Palestine: a central feature of Reagan policy.

## Washington's betrayal of human rights

**THE ARRIVAL** of the Reagan administration has brought a sharp shift in attitudes towards 'human rights', with Washington now openly backing regimes which brutally violate international conventions. A special correspondent examines how Washington justifies its new position.

economies or seek to divert the income from their natural resources to benefit their people. Foreign, usually American-owned, multinationals are thus allowed free rein for the exploitation of raw materials, or for investment in manufacturing which makes vast profits out of shamelessly-exploited Third World workers.

As a measure of the amount of freedom in a country, the distinction is meaningless.

It is nonsense to suggest that there is more freedom in Chile, where the military regime has spent virtually eight years systematically suppressing all opposition, than in Poland, where workers have won the right to freedom of association and far greater freedom of expression, but where the state owns and controls the whole of the economy.

The amount of restriction placed on the actions of citizens bears no relation to the proportion of the economy in state hands; the American administration, flying in the face of reality, maintains that the two are directly related.

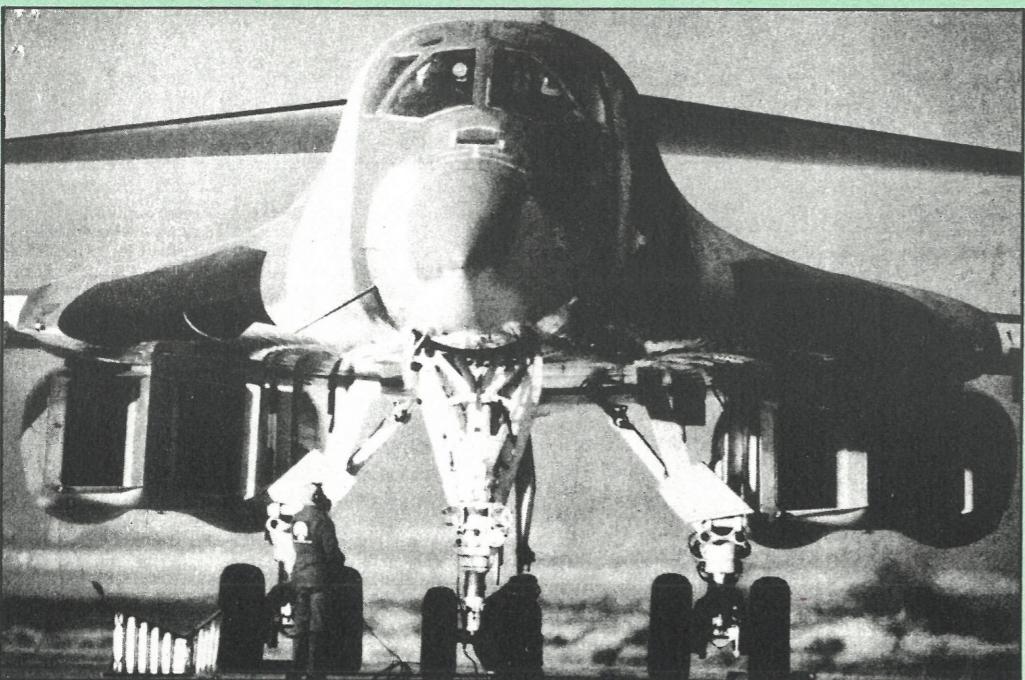
The only way in which the US Secretary of State can provide the barest thread of credibility for his theories is by citing carefully partial examples. He told the

Trilateral Commission that his collection of 'totalitarian states' — in which he included the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia and Afghanistan — had recently produced 'a flood of refugees'. He conveniently forgot the refugees who have flooded from states like Chile, Argentina, El Salvador, South Africa, Egypt, and not least Palestine, under the threat of 'authoritarian' regimes which the US supports.

It is perhaps Egypt which disproves the Reagan-Haig thesis that economics and political freedom are related. Under Sadat, the Egyptian state has given more and more encouragement to foreign investors, and has allowed the domestic economy to spiral out of control, to a point where inflation is severely restricting the freedom of Egyptians to live their lives in a decent fashion; where meat is priced too high even for the Egyptian middle class to afford. At the same time, Sadat has cracked down on political freedoms. Sixteen leading nationalist Egyptian opposition figures who Sadat forced into exile are now on trial in their absence for their political activities; and Sadat persistently libels the moderate, tolerated domestic opposition, the Socialist Labour Party.

In effect, Washington is now admitting that the 'human rights' factor is of no consequence in determining US foreign policy, although at the same time the Americans will cry loud and long that human rights are being violated when the government concerned is one which openly opposes US political interference in its internal affairs, or rejects the exploitation of its natural resources by US owned multinationals.

Last year 10,000 El Salvadorians were reportedly killed by the junta's forces, armed and supported by the United States. It is of little consequence to the families of the dead, or those who remain the targets of the fascist forces in El Salvador, that the regime is deemed in Washington to be 'authoritarian' rather than 'totalitarian'.



## How justified are Arab fears of a US conspiracy

A NEW Lebanese play which ran to packed houses in Beirut for the last six months before the recent fighting dulled playgoers' appetites, has one of the shell-shocked characters holding up his finger and saying knowledgeably: 'The conspiracy itself is a conspiracy'.

The play, *Long American Film* by Ziad Rahbani, depicts Lebanon as a madhouse, whose inmates are nevertheless saner and more human than those wishing to impose their own notion of reality on the patients. One of the more ridiculous characters is a cardboard cut-out of the Palestinian or Lebanese leftist militant for whom every event is reduced to aspects of the 'Zionist-Imperialist conspiracy'.

The character, and the play, provide a satirical insight into the vacuity of much Arab political discourse. Where the leaders of the new American administration and its regional allies profess to see Soviet expansionism creeping up behind every sand dune, the Arab forces of progress, steadfastness and confrontation see the machinations of Israel, the United States and 'the Arabs of America'. The latter category includes Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan and the Gulf States.

In recent years, however, the catalogue of Middle Eastern and Mediterranean states in which the United States wants to establish some kind of military presence has grown so long as to lend substance to claims that the region is in danger of becoming an informal American military protectorate. In mid-May, as the US defense department confirmed that the American aircraft carrier *Forrestal* had

**THE CURRENT US strategy is the Arab homeland plans for bases throughout the region, and firm support for Arab client states, along with with Zionist regime in occupied Palestine. David Butter reviews the recent developments of the US schemes.**

left Naples to join the Sixth Fleet heading for the Eastern Mediterranean, a high level Pentagon delegation was holding talks with military officials in Egypt. The delegation, headed by Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs, Francis West, was discussing new arms shipments to Egypt and the projected new US Naval facilities at the Ras Banas base on Egypt's Red Sea coastline.

Mr West had already visited Oman and Saudi Arabia — where the US wants to establish bases — as well as Jordan, which the United States would like to bring into a peace treaty with Israel at the Palestinians' expense. His schedule included Israel, Greece, Turkey, Tunisia and Morocco, all countries with real or potential strategic importance to the United States.

Israel's well equipped armed forces in the region makes it an invaluable strategic ally for the United States, although the predominance of pro-Israeli groups and individuals at the top of the American ruling establishment make it

hard for Washington to make the most of the Arab friends it has.

Turkey and Greece serve key roles as tentacles of NATO and stockpiles for American nuclear armaments. Turkey moreover shares common borders with the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq and Syria and thus serves as a point from which to exert pressure on anti-American forces in the region.

In North Africa, the expansion of American military influence provides a means to ensnare Libya between Egypt, Sudan and Tunisia, while increased support for Morocco will enable Washington to pressure Algeria and the Polisario Front fighting for the independence of the former Spanish colony of the Western Sahara.

Against this formidable array of US clients or would-be clients, the Soviet Union can boast a large, if well monitored Mediterranean fleet, friendly ties with Syria, Libya, Ethiopia and South Yemen, and a Palestine policy acceptable to most Arabs. The USSR is also geographically almost part of the Middle East. Cairo is considerably closer to Soviet territory than it is to Jeddah — or Kabul.

The presence of Soviet and American warships not far off the Lebanese coast underlines the extent to which the superpowers are caught up in the current crisis, respectively supporting Syria and Israel, on the verge of a war which would have enormous regional and international consequences.

For conservative and radical Arabs alike, the lesson being offered is that the United States, by trying to impose its will politically and militarily on the region is only sowing the seeds for more conflict.



Sadat (left) and Numeiri (right): Soldiers of war for Reagan's schemes in the Arab homeland.



## Blueprint for the US invasion of Libya

AMERICAN PLANS to attack the Libyan Jamahiriya have been leaked to the press on at least two occasions this year. They contain no surprises for those who study the US record of intervention against governments which refuse to bow to US pressures to change their policies.

In outline, the plans are first to isolate Libya in the world by means of a diplomatic and media propaganda campaign; to exacerbate problems inside the country so that they provoke some people into violent opposition of the *Jamahiri* system; and to seek out ambitious and disloyal personnel in the Armed Forces and in administrative posts, offering them bribes and promises of power when the US intervention takes place.

The US plans to stir up civil conflict, in the hope that the blame for this will be placed by Libyans on the shoulders of Muammer Qadhafi. Regardless of whether any progress is actually made in stirring up opposition, small groups of mercenaries and opponents of Libya's democratic system living abroad, will then be infiltrated into the country from neighbouring states, in order to make terrorist attacks on public buildings and military installations, which will then be blamed on 'internal dissidents'.

Using these incidents as both cover and excuse, a larger scale invasion will take place by the armies of neighbouring countries, accompanied by a handful of Libyan quislings to give the operation credibility as an 'internal' conflict. These forces would be largely Arab. But the Americans would have a direct role to play. Carrier-borne aircraft from the US Sixth Fleet, which patrols the Mediterranean and makes regular illegal incursions into Libyan territorial waters and air space, would be used to attack strategic targets, using the confusion of the mercenary invasion to avoid recognition as American and US airborne troops would be dropped into the Jamahiriya to 'protect' US citizens. As most Americans in Libya are employed by US companies in the oil industry, this would be cover for the establishment of an American presence in Libya's oil fields.

Other factors also work against the US schemes for Libya, which are reminiscent of the American destabilisation campaign against the Allende government in Chile.

Although the regimes of Egypt and Sudan have indicated their

willingness to be involved in anti-Libyan action, the same is not true of their people. Sadat has been unable to repeat his June 1977 attack on Libya because of opposition within the Egyptian armed forces at all levels from private to senior commander.

The possibility of US-backed military action is opposed by the US oil companies which have interests in Libya. US oil companies have even refused to allow their personnel to be withdrawn, in compliance with the demands of the State Department, thus exploding the US claim that intervention might be necessary to protect them.

Unlikely though the plans seem, US actions in the past few months are part of the preparations for it. The press campaign against the Jamahiriya, waged mainly by Egypt, has been stepped up.

The plan was leaked again to the *New York Post* (17th May, 1981) which claimed that President Reagan had 'rejected plans to assassinate Colonel Qadhafi', and had instead decided to bolster those states which oppose Libya. Egypt is to receive \$900 million dollars of military aid in the year 1982, of which about \$400 million would be on such favourable terms that it amounts to a virtual gift; this is nearly double the amount it will receive in 1981. For Tunisia, the figure is \$95 million, up from \$15 million in 1981. Military aid to Sudan will leap from \$30 million in 1981 to \$100 million in 1982, all of it on special low-interest terms. US military aid to Sudan in 1980 was a mere \$5 million.

It has been reported by the US journal *Strategy Week* (25th May, 1981) that Saudi Arabia has given Sudan 55 M41 type and 17 M47 type American tanks for use against Libya. On 3rd June, Assistant US Secretary of State for African affairs Chester Crocker confirmed that US aid was specifically directed to reversing what Libya had done in Chad.

The US position seeks to ignore the fact that Libya entered Chad at the request of the Chadian government, and that Libya has always declared that its troops will be withdrawn as quickly as possible, dependent on stability being assured in that country. Some Libyan troops have already returned home. Twice during May, Muammer Qadhafi and Libyan officials met with OAU President, Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, to internationalise support for the Chad government, and on 21st and 22nd May, Qadhafi, Chadian President Oueddei, and leaders of neighbouring states, participated in a summit meeting. It was agreed that Libyan troops should withdraw, and President Oueddei announced all armed factions had agreed to lay down their arms. The exception is Habre's rebel forces, backed by Egypt and Sudan. Sadat and Numeiri, along with the US are committed to continuing the war in Chad, which they believe will help isolate Libya in world opinion, and thereby help justify the planned invasion of Libya.

**L**IBYA SUPPORTS national liberation struggles, and opposes terrorism. That is the clear and longstanding policy of the Jamahiriya; it is understood by most of the countries of the world, and deliberately misrepresented by the United States, whose government has frequently, and without any justification, accused the Libyan Jamahiriya of backing international terrorism.

In furtherance of its policies, the Jamahiriya in May promulgated a new law on support for liberation movements. The new law makes a clear distinction between terrorism on the one hand, and just struggles on the other. The law says that in order to carry out the declaration of the People's Authority and the principles which led to the establishment of the Jamahiriya, the state of the masses, the Libyan people 'commit themselves to supporting the causes of freedom in the world materially and morally, in what secures the freedom and sovereignty of individuals and communities, and ends relations of exploitation, supremacy and suppression in all its forms.'

The law was drafted by the General People's Congress at its session in January this year, and took effect from its promulgation on 23rd May. It is officially 'Law No 11 of 1981'. In addition to its firm support for national liberation, the law makes it clear that 'The people of the Libyan Jamahiriya oppose and condemn all forms of terrorism and commit themselves to supporting just and human causes everywhere.'

In a recent interview with *Time* magazine, Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi explained the Jamahiriya's opposition to terrorism, and its consequent opposition to the international policies of the United States.

'The American Government is not entitled to talk about terrorism,' Colonel Qadhafi said, 'since it practises the highest degree of terrorism in the world. Furthermore, the American Government is not a policeman. It ought to correct its own behaviour before it talks about the behaviour of others. Secondly, there is a big difference between supporting liberation movements, the just cause of people fighting for freedom, and supporting terrorism. We have emphasised many times that we are opposed to real terrorism. But there is no justification for putting the PLO on the list of terrorist organisations. The cause of the Irish people is also not terrorist.'

The Libyan leader stressed that the Libyan Jamahiriya morally supported the cause of Irish unity, but did not give material support to Republican groups, including the IRA.

Colonel Qadhafi told his interviewer: 'We put the production of nuclear weapons at the top of the list of terrorist activities. As long as the big powers continue to manufacture atomic weapons, it means they are continuing to terrorise the world; also, the deployment of military bases on other people's territories; also

## Libya acts on terrorist issue

**A**gainst the background of the US charges of Libyan support for 'terrorist' groups, the Jamahiriya has called for an international conference to discuss the issue. Moreover, a new law has been enacted declaring Libya's stand on 'terrorism' and 'national liberation', while in a *Time* magazine interview, Muammar Qadhafi has charged the US with using terrorist methods to enforce its global role.

deploying naval fleets around the world.' He declared: 'This is why the US is a top terrorist force in the world.'

Apart from the United States, almost every other country in the world admits that there are distinctions to be made between terrorism and national liberation movements. Even the US, aside from its military domination of the world, is happy to sponsor armed non-governmental paramilitary groups of the sort which in other circumstances it would describe as terrorist. It is an acknowledged fact that former members of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza's 'National Guard' are being openly trained in the United States in preparation for an attack on the country's newly socialist system under the leadership of the Sandinista national liberation front. The US has admitted arming Afghanistan rebels who are fighting the Kabul government.



Ibrahim Bishari calls for action against terrorism

'Terrorism' is a useful concept for the United States, because it arouses a set of perfectly understandable reactions in ordinary people. These reactions are those of horror and disgust that innocent civilians are often the victims of terrorist actions; the hi-jacking of airlines is an appropriate example of this. However, such terrorist methods should not be confused with legitimate liberation struggles, however much the target authoritarian and oppressive regimes may seek to portray the liberation forces as 'terrorist'.

Great effort has been devoted by the Reagan administration to creating a deliberate confusion between terrorism and national liberation. The aim is to cut away public support for any violent action against any pro-American regime, however repressive the regime, and whatever the lengths to which its people have gone to struggle for peaceful change. In the United States itself, the charge of terrorism is being used to crack down on those who oppose the government's policies. A new Senate Committee on Terrorism, has begun hearings which have aroused memories of the activities of Senator Joe McCarthy in the 1950s, when people who held any dissident or progressive ideas were branded as communists and hounded from public life.

Having confused terrorism and national liberation in this way, the Reagan administration has also tried to convince people that there would be no problem of either if it were not for the support given to such movements by outsiders; the Libyan Jamahiriya, Cuba and the Soviet Union are the three countries usually singled out for attack in this way.

All three countries, of course, are rightly proud of the support which they give to liberation movements, as the new Libyan law on the subject makes clear. All three countries oppose terrorism directed at innocent people. In the specific case of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, there is no dispute about the supply of material aid from the Libyan Jamahiriya to the PLO; the dispute is between the United States and most other countries in the world about the legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle. When the charges of 'aid to terrorists' are examined, the only 'accusations' which stand up are those of supporting legitimate national liberation struggles; no proof is ever supplied of Libyan backing for terrorists.

In an attempt to arrive at an internationally agreed definition of terrorism, in order to stop the baseless accusations directed against Libya, the Jamahiriya has proposed that an international conference on terrorism should be convened by the United Nations. Ibrahim Bishari, Administrative Secretary at the Libyan Information Secretariat, made the suggestion in May at a press conference in Rome. He said that terrorism was 'a social evil which needs to be studied so that measures to eliminate it can be introduced.'

IT WAS only to be expected that the recent assassination attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II should, somehow at least, be dragged into the American press propaganda war which is daily directed towards the Libyan Jamahiriya and more specifically to discredit the Libyan revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi. Although America's quality press handled the task with a little more finesse, on 18th May the *New York Post* (sister paper now of *The Times* in London, and part of the Murdoch antipodean empire) declared with front page banner headlines large enough to be seen at a distance of fifty metres, 'Libya link to Pope plot'.

For those hoping for evidence which might stand up in a western court of law, the report must have been disappointing. It rolled through its evidence citing dubious Egyptian and Israeli sources wrapping the whole fantasy in the press statements issued from the US State Department accusing the Libyan Jamahiriya of fermenting what has become the codeword of US foreign policy, 'international terrorism'.

Since the Sadat regime and the Zionist state in Palestine have a common distinguishing goal, namely their declared commitment to confront, destabilise and even launch a military invasion against, the Libyan Jamahiriya, what we have is not so much an exposé of the forces behind the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul, but an example of the way in which intelligence organisations exploit the mass media, and the way the mass media is a willing accomplice, in efforts to destabilise a country. The report referred to 'evidence' which each of the countries claimed they had, but none revealed what it was, and the *New York Post* clearly didn't have any of its own. Never mind, three days earlier, the very same paper assured its readers that the Imam Khomeini was responsible.

Meanwhile, the following day American intelligentsia and political leaders were treated to Joseph Kraft's revelations in the *Washington Post*, under the headline, 'The Dark Side of Islam'. 'Who would want to kill the Pope?' he asked. Readers did not have to read too far into the article to find a 1,000-word answer, in the form of 'the milieu of Islamic fundamentalism', which Kraft declared included Muammar Qadhafi. The fact that Mehmet Ali Agca was a Muslim was sufficient for the *Washington Post* columnist to declare that the whole Islamic community (some 800 million people) was linked to the assassination attempt.

'An ugly display of ignorance and religious bigotry,' was how James Zogby of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee described Kraft's column. The National Action Party, to which Agca belongs is not Muslim, Zogby pointed out. 'It is a secular fascist party' and 'about as Muslim as the Nazis, the KKK and the White Citizens Council are Christian,' he added. Zogby added, 'If we use that



Muammar Qadhafi and Cardinal Pignadoli at the Muslim-Christian Dialogue in Tripoli.

## Islam and the near death of a Pope

**T**HE ATTEMPTED assassination of Pope John Paul II has been exploited by the media as a further opportunity to make accusations against Libya, and to attack the Islamic faith. Ali Azziz looks at recent news reports in the American press.

logic, the Holocaust would become a "Christian act" and the bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "Christian bombs". Lee Harvey Oswald would be described as a "Christian assassin". And the terrorism of the Irgun, the Jewish Defence League and the Gush Emunim would be the "Dark side of Judaism".

Another New York publication, the weekly *Jewish Press*, on 22nd May, pursued the same line. But at least it was willing to declare that it hadn't a clue what it was talking about by its references to the 'Mohammedan religion'.

What no newspaper in its linkage of the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul appeared willing to disclose was the efforts of Libya over the years since the Revolution to bring Islam and Christianity, most notably the Roman Catholic Church and the Vatican, into closer contact. Nor did any newspaper in its tirade against Islam and the Arab nation inform its readers of the principled stand taken by the Pope and the Vatican in support of the Palestinians and against the practices of the Zionist settlers in Palestine. 'No matter,' will cry the press barons of the West. 'Why research the facts when fantasy serves our purpose, and our readers are ready to believe it as though it were fact?'

However, if there was some respite from the lunacy which the Western press is willing to present as serious comment on Libyan affairs, the *Los Angeles Times*

managed some plausible comment on 8th May in an article by William Beeman. The heading: 'Target: Libya. Seen Ripe for Reagan Attack, It May Provide Nasty Surprises'.

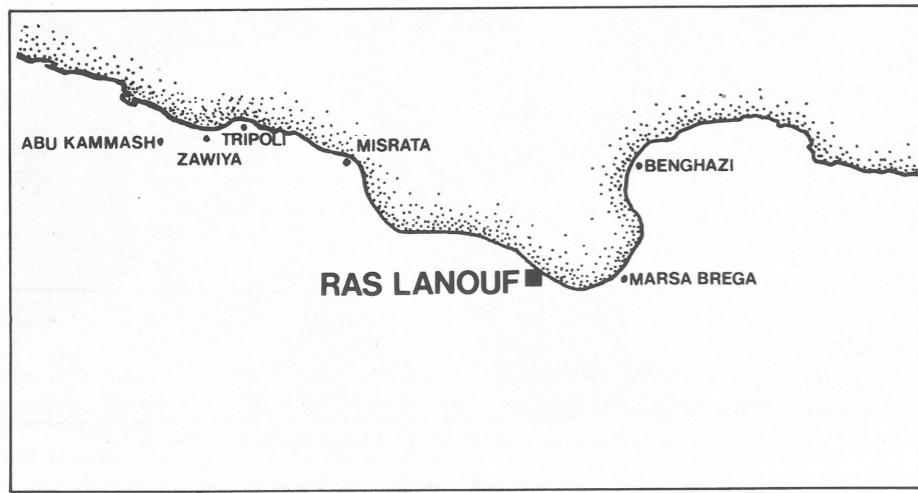
Beeman prefaces his comments with the routine list of State Department charges against Libya. He questions neither these, nor the legitimacy of the US seeking directly, or indirectly through surrogate forces, to overthrow the political leadership of a country. But his observations would be well heeded by anyone contemplating an invasion of the Jamahiriya, whether it be Sadat or Reagan.

'Qadhafi is no pushover,' he warns those who believe, largely as a result of their own propaganda, that US or Egyptian forces could just march into Libya and occupy its towns and cities. Importantly, he recognises that 'it is not likely that Western troops would ever set foot on the beaches of Libya. Just as Hondurans and Guatemalans stand ready to serve as surrogate forces for US interests in Central America, Egypt and the Sudan would be most likely Western surrogates for an attack on Qadhafi.'

And he also anticipates support in such a scheme from Kenya.

Beeman offers some warning to would-be invaders. 'Libya may prove to be not so much a cream puff as a piece of taffy that could stick long and maddeningly on anyone who dares to touch it,' he says.

He explains: 'It is a nation in the midst of massive social and revolutionary flux. As such it has no discernible centre to strike at, no single chain of command to unravel. Qadhafi's goal has been not to consolidate his personal power but to spread his own brand of Islamic revolution, which, he has determined, can be best secured through a decentralisation of authority. Thus, invaders would be apt to find that they would not know where to attack, whom to topple or what to do on arrival. They would be confronted with a fierce opposition from Libyans who have lost nothing of their combative nomadic spirit.'



## INDUSTRIAL CITIES OF THE JAMAHIRIYA

### Part 2: Ras Lanouf – Libya's petro-chemical capital

THE TINY coastal village of Ras Lanouf, on the Gulf of Sirte some 350 kilometres south west of Benghazi, was once the site of Mobil Oil's crude oil export terminal — but of little else. Now it is being transformed into the largest petrochemicals centre in the Jamahiriya, and one of the largest of Libya's new industrial towns. At the heart of the developments is a giant oil refinery. This will supply a major ethylene plant, whose output will feed a range of other petrochemicals plants. A new port is being built from scratch. Desalination plants are being established to ensure adequate water supplies. A major oil pipeline is under construction to bring crude from the desert oil fields. And to house the expected influx of workers and their families two adjacent new towns are being created.

Ras Lanouf is one of a series of coastal sites in the Jamahiriya that are being developed into major industrial cities. The new industries will assist in the diversification of the economy to which Libya is deeply committed, while the new centres will also help bring about a more even population distribution. The Jamahiriya's planners are concerned about the concentration of Libya's population in Tripoli and Benghazi, the two major cities, the result of the rapid influx of rural dwellers in the early years of the oil boom when the towns offered attractive employment opportunities.

The high hopes the Jamahiriya places in the industrial sector as a means of diversifying the economy are reflected in the scale of the allocations for industry in the new 1981-85 development plan, unveiled last January. \$13,509.9 million — 23 per cent of the total plan expenditure — is earmarked for industry, more than for any other sector. The determination to industrialise is also underlined by the sector's projected 21.6 per cent average annual growth rate during the plan period, more

**AS PART of the Jamahiriya's drive to diversify her economy, a number of major industrial cities are being established along the coast. In this second of a series of special reports on the emerging industrial centres, Dr Alan George reviews the developments under way at Ras Lanouf, about mid-way between Tripoli and Benghazi, where Libya's largest petrochemicals complex is under construction.**

than twice the 9.4 per cent projected annual growth rate for the economy as a whole. And within the industrial sector, the plan calls for special emphasis to be placed on capital intensive heavy industries of the type being established at Ras Lanouf and the other emerging coastal industrial cities. This makes a lot of sense in Libya, where there are abundant funds for investment but a relatively short supply of labour.

The petrochemicals complex was first mooted by the Jamahiriya's Heavy Industry Secretariat in 1976, and was initially planned for Tobruk, on the north east coast. In July 1977, however, the Egyptian ruler Sadat launched a military assault against the Jamahiriya. This was seen as a clear indication of Sadat's increasing isolation from his fellow Arabs as US pressure mounted on him to capitulate to the Zionists. The attack was repulsed after fierce fighting, but it

naturally prompted the Jamahiriya to question the wisdom of locating the proposed major industrial complex little more than 100 kilometres from the Egyptian frontier. Ras Lanouf was chosen as a more secure site, and the first work began in 1978.

At the core of the Ras Lanouf developments lies a \$300 million oil refinery. Its planned eventual capacity of 280,000 barrels per day will make it the largest in the Jamahiriya. Early last year Saipem, the contracting arm of Italy's state energy agency, Ente Nazionale Idrocarbi, won a \$40 million contract for the construction of the first phase, which will give the refinery a daily capacity of 220,000 barrels. Work started in spring 1980 and is scheduled for completion in September. The second phase, the contract for which has not yet been awarded, will involve the construction of a petroleum gas liquefaction plant.

The refinery will supply the raw materials for a 330,000 tonnes per annum capacity ethylene plant, the \$60 million construction contract for which was won in January last year by Italy's Belleli Industrie Meccaniche. Completion is scheduled for the middle of 1982. Other major contracts for work on the ethylene plant have rivalled, and even exceeded, the value of the construction contract. Early this year it was reported that Japan's Meisei Industrial had won a \$49.2 million contract to insulate, fire-proof and paint the plant, with completion in February 1983. At about the same time it was reported that Italy's Carlo Gavazzi Impianti has a \$9 million contract to install instrumentation and automation systems at the plant. In spring last year it was disclosed that Foxboro-Yoxall of the UK had won a \$2.2 million contract to supply a process control system. Part of the contract provided for the training of Libyan engineers. And last year AEG-Telefunken (UK) won an order worth more than \$1 million to supply motor control centres and other equipment for the plant.

The giant ethylene plant is the key to a range of other petrochemical projects planned for Ras Lanouf. These include a 68,000 tonnes per annum capacity polypropylene plant, a 52,800 tonnes per annum monoethylene glycol plant, a 60,000 tonnes per annum low density polyethylene plant and a high density plant of similar capacity. The capacity of the latter two plants is planned to rise to an eventual 100,000 tonnes per annum. In addition, factories will be built to produce ethylbenzene (aromatics), polystyrene, polybutadiene (synthetic rubber) and acrylonitrile (synthetic fibre). Construction contracts for these plants have yet to be awarded, but licensing agreements have been concluded allowing the latest technology to be employed at the monoethylene glycol and polypropylene plants.

Crude oil for the Ras Lanouf petrochemicals complex will be pumped from the Messla fields, deep in the Sahara, through a 611 kilometre pipeline, the \$162



Petro-chemicals: A new industrial base for Libya.

million construction contract for which was won last year by Japan's Nippon Kokan and Marubeni Corporation. The contract also calls for the construction of four generating stations, three oil storage tanks and camp facilities.

A major new port is being built to

handle the enormous volume of exports the Ras Lanouf complex will generate when operational. The \$300 million construction contract was won last year by South Korea's Hyundai Construction, and provides for two 5.4 kilometre jetties, 600 metres of quay for general cargo,

port buildings and 1,600 kilometres of roads. Some two million square metres of land will be reclaimed and more than 1.5 million cubic metres dredged. The nine-berth port is scheduled for completion by the end of 1983. Plans for the new harbour were drawn up by Britain's Rendel Palmer & Tritton.

With companies from twelve countries supplying equipment for the Ras Lanouf developments, the Azzawiya Refinery Company, which is responsible for the entire scheme, last year awarded France's Société Commerciale des Transports a contract to transport equipment from countries of origin to Ras Lanouf. The work involves moving plant of up to 750 tonnes in weight and 80 metres in height.

Although the emphasis on industry in the new \$62.5 billion development plan is greater than in earlier plans, Libya has been firmly committed to a programme of rapid industrialisation ever since the 1969 Revolution swept away the corrupt regime of King Idris. With the country's vast oil reserves, it was natural that petrochemicals industries should be seen as having enormous potential for development. The progress already achieved is reflected in the growing importance of the Jamahiriya's petrochemicals exports. The first exports came only in 1979, with shipments totalling 195,000 tonnes, but by last year they were already accounting for five per cent of Libya's total exports. This trend will certainly continue as the new plants being established at complexes such as Ras Lanouf enter operation.

### Solar energy plans for housing

**TO HOUSE the influx of population that the job opportunities at the Ras Lanouf petrochemicals complex will trigger, two new towns are being built. The largest, for a site about 17 kilometres west of the industrial complex, will by 1985 house an estimated 15,000 people, of whom about 4,000 will work in the petrochemicals plants. The population is expected to rise to 40,000 by the year 2,000. Construction of the town will take about five years, at an estimated cost of \$1,351 million. Finland's Dovecon consulting group has the contract for design and building supervision. Part of their contract calls for the firm to design, supervise and report on 100 homes powered by solar energy to be built in the new town.**

**In January the Turkish firm Enka won a contract, valued at about \$250 million, for the town's first phase. The work entails the construction of 1,130 homes plus infrastructure. Tender documents for the second phase have been issued to a number of inter-**

**national contractors. This will include the construction of five apartment blocks, a motel, a supermarket, a primary school, a kindergarten and associated infrastructure.**

**Work on the smaller town, to have a population of 10,000, is further advanced. The first phase, for which the contract was signed as long ago as December 1978, has been completed at a cost of \$11 million. The second phase will involve the construction of a further 500 homes while a third phase will entail the development of the town's roads and other infrastructure.**

**To ensure an adequate water supply both for the urban and industrial developments, five sea water desalination plants are being built, one of 250 tonnes per day capacity and the others of 500 tonnes. Three are being supplied by Italy's Bosco Industrie Meccaniche and the others, including the 250 tonnes per day plant, by West Germany's Friedrich Krupp.**

## Major food industries get under way

SELF SUFFICIENCY in food by the turn of the century is a key aim of Libya's planners. The new \$62.5 billion five year development plan calls for the proportion of food requirements met by domestic production to increase from the current 53.5 per cent to 62 per cent by 1985. It is expected that Libya will be producing 35 per cent of its processed food requirements by the middle of the decade, compared with the current 27 per cent.

Food output will be boosted by two major agro-industrial contracts awarded in recent weeks, one to Holland's HVA and the other to the Danish Danfarm Contractors. The \$122.2 million HVA contract is for the supply and management of a major milk products and poultry processing plant to be sited at Ghat Sultan, 55 kilometres from Benghazi. The plant will produce 9,000 litres of milk per day from 600 milking cows, and 5.5 million broilers per year. The totally integrated scheme will have an animal feed mill, milk processing and bottling plants, a poultry slaughterhouse and a yoghurt making plant. The scheme is for completion in 30 months, and HVA's five year management contract starts one year after the start of construction.

In May it was reported that the Danish consortium Danfarm Contractors had won a \$168.4 million contract for a similar plant to be located at Wadi al Hari, 70 kilometres south of Tripoli. The production and facilities will be identical to the Ghat Sultan scheme. The Wadi al Hari plant is for completion in 36 months and Danfarm will manage it for five years, starting one year after the beginning of construction.

HVA won a \$129.9 million contract earlier this year for another agro-industrial project of the same type, to be sited at Taourgha, some 60 kilometres south of Misrata. All three schemes are based on a feasibility study prepared by the Danish firm Danagro Adviser for the Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform Secretariat.

The Jamahiriya's drive towards food self sufficiency was also underlined by the recent confirmation from a West German consortium that it has a \$162.9 million contract to build three animal feed mills. Bilfinger & Berger will do civil works valued at \$87.7 million while Buehler-Miag will supply mechanical and electrical equipment worth \$75.2 million. The mills are for Benghazi, Tobruk and Sirte, and are scheduled for completion in



The quest for self-sufficiency in food.

1983. Each will have an hourly production capacity of 40 tonnes of mixed feed for poultry, cattle and sheep, and each will have a 25,000 tonne silo.

## Telecommunications links expand

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's determination to establish an efficient countrywide telecommunications network has been underlined by a series of recent contracts for the supply of television transmitters earth satellite stations and a telephone cable network.

In May it was reported that France's Laboratoire Général des Télécommunications (LGT) had won an extension to its existing contract for the supply of television transmission stations, bringing the total contract value to \$23.6 million. LGT is now to install 40 stations, of which nine are covered by the extension and the rest by the initial contract, awarded in June last year. Work is for completion in 18 months, with each station to house a 1 kW transmitter and ancillary equipment. LGT will also be training Libyan staff.

The new station will allow Libyan television's Arabic language channel one to be broadcast countrywide. The area covered by channel two, which broadcasts in English, French and Italian, will not be extended until at least 1983: priority will go to expansion of the radio net-

work. Under the new 1981-85 development plan, \$2,000 million has been allocated for the expansion of the Jamahiriya's broadcasting services.

Sweden's LM Ericsson has won a \$17 million contract for a telephone cable network in the north eastern town of Derna, for completion in 30 months, *Middle East Economic Digest* reported on 1st May.

Work entails laying cable to serve about 10,000 subscribers. The Derna municipality has ordered a new exchange to handle the new subscribers. The development plan foresees the expansion of the country's telephone network to provide six phones per 100 residents.

Japan's Nippon Electric Company has won a contract to supply satellite earth stations for telephone communications and television broadcasts, with final delivery in 23 months, it was reported early in June. No details of the contract have been disclosed.

Libya wants a series of earth satellite stations in order to gain maximum benefit from the communications satellites that the Arab Satellite Organisation (Arabsat) plans to put into orbit. In May it was reported that Arabsat had awarded France's Aerospatiale a \$130 million contract for the construction of the three satellites in the joint Arab project. Two of them will be put into orbit, with the third being held in reserve. Each of the two will provide 8,000 telephone circuits and six television channels. There will also be a 'pan-Arab' channel and a community channel which low cost

ground stations will be able to receive. Construction of the satellites will take about 30 months, and the satellites will be put into orbit either by the European Space Agency's Ariane rocket or by the Space Shuttle.

The new Libyan development plan provides for a special emphasis on the acquisition of technical skills by Libyans, and this is reflected in a recent announcement that Greece is to train 480 Libyans in telecommunications. They will attend schools in Greece run by the state-owned Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation, which under an earlier agreement has already undertaken to train 200 Libyans.

## New merchant marine college

ENERGOPROJEKT OF Yugoslavia has won a contract to build a merchant navy college in Libya. The announcement reflects both the growing size of the Jamahiriya's merchant fleet and the new emphasis on training in the current five year plan. The delivery on 29th May of the new 155,200 dwt oil tanker *Al Fuweihat* from a Swedish shipyard brought the fleet to 24 ships, and by 1985 it is expected that 60 per cent of all the Jamahiriya's imports will be carried on Libyan-owned vessels.

The college, to be completed in three years, will accommodate 400-600 undergraduate students and 100 postgraduate students. Construction will be in two phases.

The first will comprise administration buildings, a library, classrooms, theatre and a restaurant. The second stage will include a planetarium, medical centre, mosque, staff and students' accommodation and recreational facilities. The contract also provides for the construction of a quay, a jetty, maintenance shops, a control tower and breakwaters.

The client is the Communications and Marine Transport Secretariat. The contract's value and the location of the college have not been disclosed.

## Bright outlook for petro-chemicals

THE PETROCHEMICALS sector is the cornerstone of the Jamahiriya's industrialisation programme and the success of the new plants was underlined on 20th May when the Jamahiriya news agency JANA reported that output at the Marsa Brega methanol plant totalled 322,233 tonnes last year. This looks set to be even higher this year, with JANA reporting that the plant is now working two shifts per day, and produced 96,474 tonnes in the first quarter of 1981 — more than one third of the total for the whole of last year.

The plant was opened in 1977 and JANA quoted the Jamahiriya's Heavy Industry Secretariat as saying it was one of only two of its type in north Africa. Marsa Brega, on the Gulf of Sirte, is one of the coastal towns that are being developed into major industrial centres.

## First graduation of medical students

81 DOCTORS, men and women, became the first graduates of Tripoli's Al Fateh University on 21st May. Amongst those attending a ceremony to mark the occasion were Mr Abd al Hafiz az Zulaytini, the Education Secretary, and Mr Murad Ali Lanqi, the Health Secretary.

## Poland and Italy win construction contracts

POLISH CONSTRUCTION companies have been awarded contracts in Libya valued at a total of \$1,000 million, the Polish news agency PAP reported recently. About 10,000 Poles will be working on the contracts by 1984,



New homes under construction: A frequent sight in the Jamahiriya.

making them one of the largest European expatriate communities in the Jamahiriya.

The contracts were awarded under agreements reached by the joint Polish-Libyan commission, PAP added, but did not say when they were awarded or to which companies. The contracts, for completion in five years, include urban developments in Al Marj, and in the Benghazi and Tobruk areas. More than 6,000 homes and 60 schools will be built.

The Italian community of about 15,000 is the largest European expatriate community in the Jamahiriya at present. The UK has about 5,000 expatriates and the US 2,000.

Other construction and urban development contracts have been awarded in recent weeks to Italian companies. In May it was reported that two contracts for sewerage work in Tobruk, with a combined value of \$62.8 million, had been won by a joint venture between Impresit Costruzione and Construzione Ricordino Esercizio Acquedotti. Work, for completion in three years, includes building 96 kilometres of sewers and two pumping stations. The joint venture will supply and install electrical and pumping equipment for the two new stations and for four existing pumping stations. Consultant is

Britain's Howard Humphrey & Sons.

Work is under way on contracts awarded to the Italian firm Enterprise for two office/residential complexes, it was reported recently. The combined value of the contracts is \$100 million, and completion is scheduled for next year. The complexes are under construction at Tiji and Nalut, both near the Tunisian frontier.

## Desert agriculture schemes press ahead

AS PART of the Libyan Jamahiriya's ambitious programme of agricultural development, a number of irrigation projects have been established deep in the Sahara, using subterranean water supplies.

In June a tender was put out for the latest of these projects, to be sited at Tenezof, in Ubari municipality deep in the Fezzan region of south west Libya. The scheme will cover about 1,700 hectares. The tender includes the supply of a main pipeline to carry water from wells to farm reservoirs, irrigation and power networks, 40 kilometres of paved roads and about 60 kilometres of

dirt roads, a drinking water supply system, including a desalination plant, a 36 hectare community centre, and civil and electro-mechanical works.

It is also reported that Portakabin of the UK has won a \$3.7 million contract for the supply of 200 temporary homes for 500 workers at Kufrah, in the desert in south east Libya and the site of one of the Jamahiriya's largest desert agricultural projects. The accommodation is for use by workers on a major housing scheme at the project, the contractor for which is Sweden's Armerad Betong Vaegföraerbaratringar.

## Japan contract for vehicle maintenance

JAPAN'S SEVEN major car and truck manufacturers are to help build vehicle maintenance plants in Tripoli and 43 other locations in the Jamahiriya, according to reports in Japan. The companies are to provide technicians as well as parts and equipment. The popularity of Japanese vehicles amongst Libyans was underlined in April when it was reported that the Honda Motor Company had won an order to supply 12,000 Civic cars.

## From El Salvador to the Libyan Jamahiriya

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